

## FAMILY, SOCIAL NETWORKS AND GENDER INEQUALITIES AT THE LABOUR MARKET IN SERBIA

### *PORODICA, DRUŠTVENE MREŽE I RODNE NEJEDNAKOSTI NA TRŽIŠTU RADA U SRBIJI*

MIRJANA DOKMANOVIC,

Faculty of European Legal and Political Studies, Novi Sad, Serbia

e-mail: mirad@eunet.rs

DANICA DRAKULIC,

Faculty of Economics, Subotica, Serbia

e-mail: dana@eunet.rs

**Abstract:** *The goal of this paper is to explore links and influences between patriarchal values of families as informal social networks and gender inequalities at the labour market in Serbia. The gender analysis of the labour market shows that it has been still under the strong influence of gender roles within a family. The high rate of exclusion of women from the labour market, particularly with low education, and from well-paid jobs, is largely a consequence of patriarchal patterns within a household. Men act as family providers, while the role of women tends to be limited to the private sphere. The paper is aimed to indicate that gender regime in a society and inequalities that are rooted in the patriarchal values within a family cannot be eradicated solely by adopting anti-discrimination legislation and establishing formal mechanisms, without tackling and changing ethical values and gender regime within a family.*

**Key words:** *labour market, Serbia, women, gender equality, family.*

**Apstrakt:** *Cilj rada je da utvrdi veze i međusobne uticaje između patrijarhalnih vrednosti u porodici, kao neformalne društvene mreže, na rodne nejednakosti na tržištu rada u Srbiji. Rodna analiza tržišta rada pokazuje da je ono još uvek pod snažnim uticajem rodnih uloga unutar porodice. Visok nivo isključenosti žena sa tržišta rada, naročito onih sa niskim stepenom obrazovanja, kao i njihova isključenost sa dobro plaćenih poslova, u velikoj meri je posledica patrijarhalnih obrazaca u domaćinstvu, koji se preslikavaju na tržište rada. Preovlađuje slika muškaraca kao branitelja porodice, dok se uloga žena pretežno ograničava na privatnu sferu. U radu ukazujemo da se rodni režimi i rodne nejednakosti koje proističu iz patrijarhalnih porodičnih vrednosti ne mogu eliminisati samo putem usvajanja antidiskriminacione legistative i formiranja mehanizama rodne ravnopravnosti, ukoliko ove procese ne prate promene etičkih vrednosti i rodnog režima unutar porodice.*

**Ključne reči:** *tržište rada, Srbija, žene, rodna ravnopravnost, porodica.*

JEL Classification: J 15; J 40;

Original Scientific Paper, Recived: July 05, 2011

### 1. Current social position of women in Serbia

In the previous socialist period, the dominant ideology advocated equality which, amongst other forms, included gender equality; however, beneath the thin veneer of the official ideology, patriarchal behavioural patterns were being reproduced (Babovic, 2008:13). During socialism, workers, men and women equally, have enjoyed a broad scale of economic and social rights. In the changed social and economic context created by transiting to the market economy, the gained level of

these rights has been considered as high, non-effective costs that would overburden the state and companies in the market-ruled economy. This caused shrinking the social role of the state and cuts in public spending for the non-productive sphere, as health care, child care and social protection.

Therefore, transition to the market economy, started at 1990s and renewed by overall economic reforms at 2000s, has not been gender neutral. The structural and institutional reforms included the reform of the financial sector, liberalization of the foreign trade policy,

the reform of the pension system, and the budget management. These processes were followed by the structural reforms of the social safety net and the health care system. This brought up a new set of difficulties, as the structural adjustment programmes that have not been sensitive to the needs of marginalized groups and those vulnerable to poverty. Structural changes in employment also happened, and led to greater availability of temporary, part-time, seasonal and low-paid jobs.

Women have been particularly affected. Increased participation of workers in the unprotected informal economy and unequal access to resources, including loans to start businesses, new technologies and information, have meant that women are entering the labour market at a disadvantage. The position of both employed and unemployed female workers worsened due to the lack of the respect to international labour and environmental standards, and lack of the legislation on corporate responsibility. Additionally, women are hit due to weakened mechanisms of workers' rights protection, strong horizontal and vertical segregation of women at the labour market, prevailing women's labour force in the less paid sectors, and lack of resources and well-paid jobs accessible by women. Due to privatisation of services, many of them became expensive for the majority of women, while in the previous system they were free or easy affordable. These negative effects are particularly evident amongst marginalized groups, including Roma women, rural women, women with disabilities, and female headed households. As a consequence, feminization of poverty is increasing.

## 2. Current position of women at the labour market

The labour market in Serbia has lower general activity rate and a considerably lower employment rate accompanied with a higher gender inequality performances when compared to the EU labour market. Basic indicators of gender differences on the labour market show that there are evident differences in the position of women compared to men on the labour market. Accordingly to the Poll on Labour Force (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2010), in October 2010 Serbia had a population of 7, 5 million, out of which 37.7% were employed, 19.2% unemployed and 43.6% inactive. The male unemployment was 18.3% compared to 20.4% of female unemployment. The employment rate of men was 45.0% compared to 30.9% of the employment rate of women. Four years ago, in 2006, the employment rate of women was higher (40.6%) (Lakicevic, 2008:223). Obviously, the declared goal of achieving the women's employment rate above 60% until 2010 was not realistic. Major obstacles for employment of women are multiple discrimination based on gender and age, pressure for postponing of entering marriage and parenthood, lack of adequate qualification and sexual blackmailing (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009:11-12). Finding a

job is particularly difficult for women over 45, housewives, young women, rural women and women suffering multiple discrimination.

The characteristic of the Serbian economy is that women are concentrated in the typically female professions and low-paid sectors. Women make up 70-80% of employees in public administration, health care, social care, hotel and restaurant management. This horizontal segregation, which is based purely on gender stereotypes, keeps women from accessing better-paid jobs such as in finance, banking or telecommunications - even though they may be equally or better qualified than their male counterparts. In 2002, for example, 12.3% of women had high and higher education, compared to 9.9% of men (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2008).

The position of women in the labour market is changed compared to the period of socialism, when women were highly represented; the rate of their participation was reported about 70%, while in the last years it has been about 58%. Activities and female employment rates are now considerable lower than activities and male employment rates. Female unemployment rate in Serbia is one the highest female unemployment rates in Europe. Since the onset of the world financial crisis in 2008, female unemployment rate has been in the constant increase; in 2010, female unemployment rate was 5.1 percent. Female employment rate has been constantly decreasing since 2008. In the period from 2008 to 2010, female employment rate decrease was 6.1 (The Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011: 109). More women than men are among the long-term unemployment; 61% of women is unemployed more than two years, while 57% of men are the long-term unemployed. The female unemployment rate in Serbia increased at the time of crisis from 11.7% in 2008 to 14.95% in 2010. The rate of long-term unemployment is especially high for women, 8.7% in 2008 and 10.9% in 2010 (The Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011: 106).

Women record lower rates in the total employment. Since 2002, the trend in female employment has been decreasing, from 50.1% in 2002 to 44.9% in 2005. Women earn 17% less than men do and they are less represented among self-employment and entrepreneurs. While gender inequality is almost abolished at the level of primary and secondary education, there are fewer women among Ph.D. and M. S. degrees, 30-32% (The Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2008:56). Gender inequality in education is more reflected in the segregation of educational profiles, pointing to the strong presence of patriarchal patterns of "exemplary models of female and male professions." Women are represented in humanistic sciences and arts. In spite of improving the trend of female education at the different levels of education, the educational female structure is less favourable than of the male population; it is the result of inherited unfavourable position of female education. Women from the marginalized social groups have a considerable bad

position at the labour market. They face double discrimination based on the gender affiliation and the affiliation to the marginalized groups. For example, according to the UNDP research data in 2004, one of four employed Romani is a woman (The Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2008: 58). The most active Roma women get their income in the informal sector, i.e. the black market (as house cleaners, charwomen, cafe cooks, middle women, etc.).

In addition, women face greater barriers than men in advancing their careers. Many women experience a 'glass-ceiling' in moving upwards. Only 20.8% of managers and 14.3% of board chairs are women (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009:11). Men hold manager and director positions even in sectors in which women's labour prevails, as in the footwear and textile industry. Although discrimination based on gender is explicitly prohibited at the legally-normative level, data on the poor representation of women in managerial positions indicates that it is taking place. Decisions on employee assignments may originate from a patriarchal value system which is still widespread and in which positions of authority are preferably assigned to men. The assignment of employees to certain positions or special tasks is made according to the notion of suitable male and female jobs (Babovic, 2008:30). This vertical segregation holds women in lower paid positions. For example, the wages in the textile, the footwear and the rubber industry are usually more than 50% lower than the average

in the whole state. Feminisation of certain sectors results in the decrease of labour cost in the very sector.

As a result, the gender pay gap persists. Accordingly to Lakicevic (2008:223), in 2004, women earned only 56% of men's average earnings. The official data are softer (Table 1), but still reflect widening gender pay gap in all sectors, including in the well-paid ones, as the finance and banking (Table 3). Besides, by a rule, women earn less than men at all levels of education (Table 2). Additionally, the recent survey on gender pay gap (Poslovi Infostud, 2009) has shown that 41% of polled persons considered that men usually get more privileges than women, as bonuses, salary rising and chances for career advancement.

Table 1.: Average salaries per sexes, 2003-2008 (in thousands of RSD)

Year	Women	Men
2003	17.1	17.4
2004	20.5	21.5
2005	25.6	27.6
2006	31.2	33.5
2007	38.2	39.6
2008	44.2	46.4

Source: Labour Statistics, Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia

Table 2. Ratio of the number of employed women and men and their salaries with respect to the level of education, 2007-2008

	2007		2008	
	Number of employed women in relation to 100 employed men	Average salaries of women in relation to average salaries of men	Number of employed women in relation to 100 employed men	Average salaries of women in relation to average salaries of men
Total	82.9	96.4	84.4	95.2
University level	132.7	87.6	135.9	86.0
Higher education	146.2	88.9	147.8	89.0
Secondary	117.7	91.9	117.2	91.1
Highly skilled worker	14.5	82.4	14.4	83.7
Skilled worker	30.5	70.6	29.7	70.5
Non-skilled worker	87.0	83.7	86.4	79.9

Source: Labour Statistics, Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia

Table 3. Average wages in the specific sectors per sexes 2007-2008

	2007				2008					
	Average wage (in RSD)		Ratio of average wages of women and men in relation to the total average wage		Average wages of women in relation to average wages of men		Ratio of average wages of women and men in relation to the total average wage		Average wages of women in relation to average wages of men	
	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men		
Total	38179	39626	98	102	96	44188	46434	97	102	95
Agriculture and forestry	27377	30978	91	103	88	35746	38143	95	102	94
Education	39566	42860	97	105	92	45647	51114	96	108	89
Health care and social protection	41108	47206	97	111	87	45933	54582	96	114	84
State administration	46744	50526	97	105	93	51563	55310	97	104	93
Manufacturing	26668	33703	85	108	79	31214	39714	85	108	79
Trade	30701	37271	90	110	82	36857	43947	91	109	84
Hotels and restaurants	24035	28560	93	110	84	28548	33587	93	109	85
Transportation and tele-	41652	40309	102	99	103	47860	47153	101	100	101
Finance	73259	88582	94	113	83	81393	99899	93	114	81

Source: Labour Statistics, Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia. The data indicate that the tendency of worsening economic and social position of women is still going on. This is proved not only by statistical data, but also by the surveys and reports of experts in this field (Krstic *et al.*, 2010; Kolin, 2009; Babovic, 2010; Babovic, 2008; Dokmanovic, 2008; Djuric Kuzmanovic & Dokmanovic, 2004; Blagojevic, 2003; Lukic & Jovanovic, 2002; Djuric Kuzmanovic, 2002; Copic *et al.*, 2001). These authors have agreed that the main causes of women's unfavourable position are re-patriarchalisation of the society, pushing back women from the public sphere and the labour market to family and child care, increasing flexibility of labour market, cuts in social services and public spending to health care, child care, education and subsidies. Similarly, the recent report on the position of women at the labour market in Serbia (Kolin, 2009:19) has concluded that the main challenges that women face today are the following:

- ❑ Low level of employment, discrimination at the labour market, high level of unemployment and vulnerability to poverty, poor opportunities for employment;
  - ❑ Extremely low level of women's participation at managerial positions and well-paid jobs;
  - ❑ Inherited gender stereotypes with respect to choice of one's occupation and low level of technical literacy of women;
  - ❑ Unfavourable position of the marginalized groups of women – Roma, women with disabilities, self-supported mothers, elder women, refugee and internally displaced women and rural women;
  - ❑ Serious exploitation of women's resources within a private domain and the burden of their reproductive roles;
  - ❑ Patriarchal patterns related to the position of women in a family and a society, perpetuation of traditionalism within the modern social context.
- Evidently, the position of women in the labour market is closely tied with their position in the family and household. For example, for men, the main reasons of inactivity in all educational categories are retirement and education. For women with lower levels of education, the most frequent reason for inactivity is responsibilities within the household and caring for the family. Women more often than men tend to work part time due to family reasons (Table 4).

Table 4. *Employed persons according to the type of working time and sex, 2008*

	Women	Men	Number of women per 100 men
Total	1210408	1611315	75
Full-time	1070542	1458479	73
Part-time	139866	152836	92
Education or training	3317	5343	62
Illness	28313	26836	106
Caring about children or disabled adults	10002	1214	824
Family reasons	33725	20344	166
Cannot find full-time job	31571	55573	57
Other reasons	32939	43526	76

Source: Labour Statistics, Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia

### 3. Family as a patriarchal social network

The patriarchal value system still dominates in gender, partner and family relationships. Keeping patriarchal models inside the household and the family lead to the unequal division of labour in which women do the biggest part of unpaid household duties, and have limited access to financial resources. In a dominant patriarchal value system, a woman has a difficult position in a family, as well as difficulties in accessing important resources, both in a family and in a society. In the context of deficit of material resources, knowledge, skills, and social capital, poverty is increasing. This is particularly visible in the vulnerable categories of women: divorced mothers with small children, especially mothers with small children having special needs, housewives, elder women, women with disabilities, rural women, especially elder ones and those without property, refugee women, women caring for household members, Roma women, unemployed women and women victims of violence.

Affiliation to the female sex often means to belong to the lowest social status (Rajkovic) because of the strongly expressed patriarchal system of relationship. Therefore, for instance, in the rural regions, the gender relationship, even nowadays, is the same as it was two hundred years ago, relied on the patriarchal relationship system, on paternalism. The ruling cultural model reflects in the economic position of rural women; they face difficulties to enjoy their right to inheritance if there is a male descendant in the family, as by a tradition, a male descendant (a son or a brother) has a preference over a female one (a daughter or a sister). The strong gender polarization is expressed in the domain of property relationships, where the common law says that a woman has no right to inherit property and house. It clearly points to the complete subordination and submission of women in the contemporary Serbian family. Patrilinearity is the elementary cultural principle in forming the family and social relationship in rural regions. Women are in the constant subordinate position, the inferior position is left to them: women in the private sphere, men in the public

one; birth giving and family care are left to women; work, politics and decision making to men; glory and knowledge to men, painstaking work and monotony to women. According to the demographic data, women are superior in the total population number, while in all the other spheres there is the superiority of men.

The female labour force has surpassed the male labour force in agriculture, as women are more active than men in agriculture are. Out of all farmers 58.7% are women, and out of all individual agricultural producers, 48.3% are women, i.e. every second woman is a food producer. Women are 3.3 times more often helping household members (76.4%) (Rajkovic). Rural women are more unemployed than men are. The most part of their resources, women spend in maternity and household work because of gender inequality.

The patriarchal system is also strongly expressed in the urban environments. Duties within the household and those connected with maternity belong to women. Therefore, women are less competitive in the labour market because they are excessively burdened in parental duties and responsibilities, the absence from work because of babysitting and children's diseases, as well as burdened by household obligations. Their possibilities are disparaged for advancement in the workplace and acceptance of demandable and responsible management job positions. In the system of traditional culture, patriarchal awareness and economic and social underdevelopment, as the Serbian one, women are led into situation to appreciate men more than women, starting from themselves, and it is accepted as natural in the family and later in the future relationships in the society. Further, learning women's roles develop, through the identification with mothers whose place is at home, in the private sphere. According to this model of socialization, women are expected to be modest, obedient, tolerant, devoted, in the shadow and less worth than men, and to leave to men the care about all significant and public affairs. From the very beginning, women are instructed to accept the differentiation and carry out the "women's" jobs, to have the "women's" upbringing and shorter schooling. The continuation of repression follows in marriage, eco-

conomic repression in the labour market and in political life. Indicators are uneven and underrepresentation of women in the management of political parties, the parliament, executive and administrative authorities. Marginalization and discriminated positions of women, at last, are manifested through the limited participation and disablement of exerting influences on decision-making in the public. The patriarchal value system still generates the reproduction of women's inferior status.

#### **4. Patriarchy, gender regime in a family and the labour market**

In a society, if traditional gender roles with subordinated position of women exist in patriarchal family relationships, they are transmitted to the overall social relations and the public sphere. Gender regime is characterized as the configuration of gender relations within a particular setting, such as a school, a family or a neighbourhood. Inevitably, it defines gender relations in all spheres of public life. Gender regime determinates social position of an individual on basis of his/her gender role. If women's position in the private sphere is marked by a patriarchal division of roles, as this is the case in the Serbian society, patriarchal division of roles is transferred to all spheres of public life, including employment and the labour market. Obstacles for advancement of women at the labour market are based on the patterns of a family life (Kolin, 2009:14).

Above mentioned data about the position of women at the labour market prove subordinate role of women in this field. Informal social networks within a family shape women's position in the society and the economy. Patriarchal structure within a family creates social structures with rigid gender roles and discrimination against women. These are evident through the care economy, gender pay gap, horizontal and vertical job segregation, gender based violence including sexual harassment at work, stereotyped presentation of gender roles in the media, low participation of women in politics, and perpetuation of patriarchal patterns in education. Patriarchal cultural patterns also prevail in the area of shaping macro- and microeconomic policies, women being almost excluded from decision making.

Women's unemployment reflects traditional gender stereotypes that are particularly visible after shrinking or abolishing social protection programs. Under such circumstances, the burden of care for children, elder and other vulnerably family members transfers to private sphere, namely to women (Kolin, 2009:14). Besides, although the labour market, in general, creates less favourable conditions for the employment of the labour force with low education, it may be presumed that for populations with low education the high rate of exclusion from the labour market is largely a consequence of patriarchal patterns of life, in which work roles are related to men as family providers, while the role of women is limited to the private sphere and

work related to the household (Babovic, 2008:23). Vulnerable groups of women are particularly restricted in their ability to get involved on the labour market due to patriarchal relations. For instance, it is observed that women with disabilities, refugees and displaced women, even with various vocational programs of education and training, do not enter the labour market even when they have qualifications and skills (Babovic, 2008:63).

The issue is exaggerated by problems in balancing work and family responsibilities. Women are disproportionately burdened with household and family responsibilities, particularly if they have small children. This has negative influence at women's competitiveness at the labour market (Lukić and Jovanović, 2002). Employees tend to avoid employing women, particularly young women and self-supported mothers. When applying for a job, women face discrimination, as they are often asked about their family situation and planning to have children; questions that have been never asked male candidates. Intensified work activities in the formal and informal labour market related of both genders are neither accompanied by an appropriate distribution of household responsibilities nor by a redistribution of power in the management of financial resources. This creates a picture of a hybrid mix of relative emancipation of women on the labour market and patriarchal patterns in the division of roles and distribution of power in the household (Babovic, 2008:73).

Women's groups have warned on increasing gender based discrimination at the labour market in their 2007 Shadow Report to the UN Committee on Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The Committee expressed its deep concerns about the persistence of adverse cultural norms, practices and traditions and of patriarchal attitudes and deep-rooted stereotypes regarding the roles, responsibilities and identities of women and men in the family and the wider community, which are reflected in women's disadvantaged situation in the labour market (para. 19). In its Concluding comments on the on Serbia's initial report, the Committee stressed its concern about systemic indirect discrimination against women in employment, which is pervasive in the public and private sectors and the informal sector, and is characterized by: horizontal and vertical job segregation, with women predominating in lower paid jobs in the public sector; a significant pay gap; higher unemployment rates of women, including older women, refugees, first-time job seekers and minority women; a larger number of women working as unpaid family helpers (para. 31).

The gender based discrimination at the labour market was issue for the European Commission, too. In its latest country report on the advancement of Serbia toward the EU integration, the European Commission (2010:14) has concluded that in practice women remain discriminated against, particularly in the labour market. Those facing the most discrimination are disabled

women, single mothers, older women and those living in rural areas. On the other hand, the rules on legal protection of women during court proceedings are not sufficiently applied.

There is a widespread opinion that the family and the maternity responsibilities disable women's equal participation on the labour market and the advancement in a career. Accordingly to the Survey done in 2009 (Strategic Marketing Research) about the public opinion on discrimination and inequalities in Serbia, 39% of citizens consider that there is a high level of discrimination against women, while discrimination during employment is the most frequent type of discrimination. Accordingly, major causes of the lack of chances for career advancements of women are: they are considered as a "weaker sex" and therefore not effective in human resources management; they are expected to establish a family and prioritize it instead of a company; family responsibilities and maternity leave.

## 5. Conclusion

Despite the obvious progress attained in wording and carrying out the gender policy in Serbia, the existence of social and cultural barriers still persists, associated with the traditional social culture that is open for changes of habitual division of power between women and men. Although being recognized as one of the vulnerable groups at the labour market, the position of women has not been improved significantly until now. The situation is slightly improving, mostly due to establishing gender equality mechanisms at all levels, introducing gender equality and anti-discrimination legislation, and developing gender equality policies in all areas of public life, including the labour policy. Besides, in the governmental policy, the harmonization with the European and international standards for gender equality is emphasized as the priority of the institutional framework.

In practice, a consistent application and carrying out measures to strengthen women's economic capacities lags, in the way to exert influence on increasing women's employment rate, as well as the number of women from vulnerable groups to educate and employ. The main reason of the discrimination against women at the labour market is maintaining of patriarchal values embodied in behaviour of various stakeholders. Therefore, the position of women at the labour market cannot be improved without tackling the patriarchal values and prejudices that are embedded in the core of a patriarchal family. This means that efforts in changing traditional patterns cannot be effective without integrating education on gender equality in traditional education at all levels.

## References:

- Alternative Report to the CEDAW Committee* (2007), Belgrade.
- Babovic, M. (2008), *The Position of Women on the Labour Market in Serbia*, Belgrade, UNDP Serbia and Gender Equality Council, Government of the Republic of Serbia.
- Babovic, M. (2010), *Gender Economic Inequalities in Comparative Perspective: European Union and Serbia*, Belgrade, Sociologic Association of Serbia and Montenegro, Institute for Sociological Research Belgrade and SeConS Group for Development Initiative.
- Blagojević, M. (2003), "Changes in values and gender regimes in transitional countries: comparative perspective", in *Changes in values and transition in Serbia: view into the future*, IDN, Belgrade, 165-172.
- Copic, S., Grupkovic, B., Lasic, G. and Dobrosavljevic-Grujic, Lj. (2001), *Women in Serbia: Are We Discriminated?*, Belgrade, Women's Section of the Trade Union "Independence" & ICFIU CEE Women's Network.
- Devedzic, M. (2006), "Gender Inequalities from the Demographic Perspective", *Population*, No. 2, Belgrade.
- Djuric Kuzmanovic, T. (2002), *Gender and Development in Serbia*, Novi Sad, Women's Studies and Research.
- Djuric Kuzmanovic, T. and Dokmanovic, M. (2004), „The enlarged European Union and its agenda for a 'wider Europe': What consideration for gender Equality? EU neighbouring countries in the Western Balkans" Briefing Paper, Brussels, WIDE.
- Dokmanovic, M. (2008) "Women in the Western Balkans", Briefing Paper, Women's Rights and Gender Equality Committee, Directorate General Internal Policies of the Union, European Parliament
- European Commission (2010), *Serbia 2010 Progress Report*, Brussels, 9 November 2010, SEC(2010) 1330.
- Government of the Republic of Serbia (2008), *The National Strategy of Sustainable Development*, Belgrade, Government of the Republic of Serbia.
- Government of the Republic of Serbia (2009), *National Strategy for Advancement of Position of Women and Promotion of Gender Equality*, Belgrade, Government of the Republic of Serbia.
- Government of the Republic of Serbia (2011), *The First National Report on Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction*, Belgrade, Government of the Republic of Serbia.

Ignjatovic, T. (ed.) (2008), *Position of women in the labour market: Compliance of the standards of gender equality with the principles of the European Union*, Belgrade, Voice of Difference.

Kolin, M. (ed.) (2009), *Gender Inequalities at the Labour Market in Serbia and Enhancement of the European Integrations*, Belgrade, European Movement in Serbia.

Krstic, G., Arandarenko, M., Nojkovic, A. and Vladisavljevic, M. (2010), *Position of Vulnerable Groups on the Labour Market in Serbia*, Belgrade, UNDP.

Lakicevic, M. (2008), "Social Development and Unemployment in Serbia", in Vukovic, D., and Arandarenko, M. (ed.), *Labour Market and Employment Policy*, Belgrade, Faculty of Political Sciences, pp. 218-228.

Lukic, M. and Jovanovic, S (2002), *The Competitiveness of Women with Children on the Labour Market*, Belgrade, Voice of Difference.

Poslovi Infostud.com (2009), *Survey on Gender Pay Gap*, Available at:

<http://www.poslovi.infostud.com>. Accessed May 2, 2011

Rajkovic Lj., *The Family and Position of Women in the Rural Serbia*, <http://www.awin.org.rs/izdava%C5%A1tvo/e-biblioteka/porodica-i-polo%C5%BEaj-%C5%BEene-u-ruralnoj-srbiji>. Accessed 11 June 2011.

Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (2008), *Women and Men in Serbia*, Belgrade, Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia.

Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (2010), *Poll on Labour Force*, October 2010, Belgrade, Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia.

Strategic Marketing Research (2009), *Public Opinion about Discrimination and Inequalities in Serbia*, Belgrade, UNDP.

United Nations. Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. *Concluding comments of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: Serbia*, 11 June 2007, Thirty-eighth session, CEDAW/C/SCG/CO/1.

**Zaključak:** Uprkos očitoj napretku u ostvarivanju politike rodne ravnopravnosti, u Srbiji još uvek postoje mnoge društvene i kulturne prepreke koje koče realizaciju ovog cilja. Ovome naročito doprinosi opstajanje tradicionalne društvene kulture u kojoj se sporo menja raspodela moći između žena i muškaraca. Iako legislativa i politika priznaje da žene čine jednu od posebno ranjivih društvenih grupa na tržištu rada, njihov položaj do sada nije značajno unapređen. Stanje se postepeno poboljšava poslednjih godina, naročito zahvaljujući formiranju mehanizama za rodnu ravnopravnost na svim nivoima, usvajanjem anti-diskriminacione legislativne i razvijanjem politike rodne ravnopravnosti u svim oblastima javnog života, uključujući i politiku zapošljavanja i tržišta rada. Osim toga, harmonizacija sa evropskim i međunarodnim standardima rodne ravnopravnosti jedan je od prioriteta Vladine politike poslednjih godina. Ostvarivanje ovih političkih zalaganja u praksi koče mnoge prepreke, kao što su nepostojanje konzistentnih pratećih mera kojima bi se poboljšao položaj žena na tržištu rada, podstaklo njihovo zapošljavanje i omogućilo napredovanje na poslu. Još uvek nedostaju ostvarive mere podsticaja zapošljavanja i poboljšanja pristupu obrazovanja ženama iz posebno ranjivih grupa. Diskriminacija prema ženama na tržištu rada je i dalje pristutna. Jedan od glavnih razloga je što se nedovoljno čini na promeni patrijarhalnih vrednosti i stereotipa koje prevladavaju kako kod poslodavaca, tako i kod kreatora ekonomske politike. Otuda zaključujemo da se položaj žena na tržištu rada ne može poboljšati ukoliko se paralelno ne radi i na promeni patrijarhalnih obrazaca i rodnih stereotipa ukorenjenih u patrijarhalnoj porodici. Ostvarivanje ovog cilja pretpostavlja stvaranje novih društvenih vrednosti i rodnog režima koji će se zasnivati na rodnoj ravnopravnosti, što podrazumeva rodnu osvešćenost i žena i muškaraca. Ovo podrazumeva i promenu obrazovne politike i uključivanje edukacije o rodnoj ravnopravnosti u sve vidove obrazovanja na svim nivoima.